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A MONOGRAPH

ON

The Origin and Early Life of Brattleboro,

BY

THE REV. LEWIS GROUT.

BRATTLEBORO:
PRESS OF E. L. HILDRETH & CO.
APRIL, 1899.

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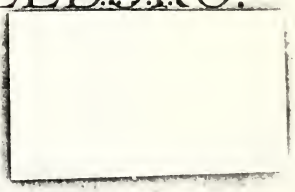
THE OLDEN TIMES

OF

BRATTLEBORO.



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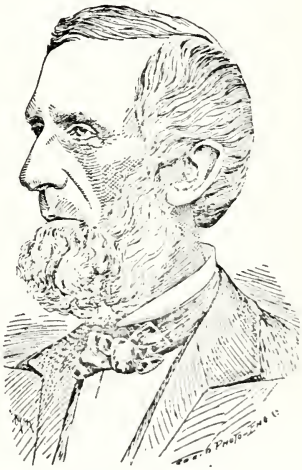

REV. LEWIS GROUT.

PREFACE.

It has been well said that, "In gathering up the memorials of the fathers we best manifest our regard for posterity." The motto is full of force, truth and beauty; not unlike to which is another, that "He who is not proud of his ancestors, either has no ancestors to be proud of, or else he is a degenerate son." But that this generation of ours is not wholly indifferent to the memory of its ancestors, the early settlers of Col. Brattle's Borough, might be shown in several ways, especially in the steadily increasing interest which so many are now taking in the earthly resting places which these early fathers set apart for themselves, their families, and for those who should come after them. During the past few years, much has been done—indeed, much is still being done to-day, to improve and beautify the sacred grounds in which the material parts of our kindred of the olden times, were lovingly laid, long ago, to rest.

But to adorn and beautify the graves of those whose blood now flows in our veins, is not the whole of our duty, or rather privilege, toward them. It is but a becoming, helpful, inspiring pleasure for us to know something of their worthy deeds, their toils, trials, struggles, the difficulties they encountered and conquered, the unique heroism with which not a few of their lives were crowned. To gather up, put on record and remember the various valuable facts that have regard to our old-time brave, self-denying fathers, and mothers too, is due alike to them, to the God they served and to ourselves, their children and children's children, for whom they lived, toiled and prayed.

Indeed, it is not only a duty and a privilege, but natural as well, even a pure spontaneous delight in all the better minded, to have a desire, a taste, for looking into such things. For us of Brattleboro, and of this day, to be interested in the origin and early life of this Borough is but yielding to a general law of the race to which we belong. We are so made that both pleasure and profit invite to a study of the beginnings and early history of things. Builders, authors, inventors, battlefields, birthplaces and wedding days have ever been regarded as objects of notable interest. Those who make great discoveries in physical science, or in other secular and material directions, are generally counted benefactors and held in honor. Yet in no way second to anything of this kind is the ground which we here and now have for a deep and abiding interest in the early families, the infant settlements, and the incipient stages of the civil, political and other institutions our fathers planted for us here in the Borough to which we belong or in which we have our home.

In the efforts which the writer made, some thirty years ago, to gather up needed material for preparing a history of the first church in Brattleboro, he went through all the "records" to be found at that time in Brattleboro, whether of the town, the covenanters, the church and society, or of other organizations, some in town and some out, and learned also what he could from books, pamphlets, papers, correspondence, diaries, and from the oral testimony of the then oldest inhabitants of the town;—in all which he found more or less about the origin and primary development of the civil, political, industrial and social life of the town itself and as a whole, in its earlier days.

Since that time, much valuable information has come to light and been made available through other researches and sources, especially in the acquisition of certain historical facts, as gathered and made public, from time to time, in the "Vermont Phœnix," by a certain member of the legal profession—facts which the writer has found very helpful in preparing the following Monograph, and for which he is happy to take this way of expressing his great obligation and sincere thanks to the distinguished author of those instructive articles.

LEWIS GROUT.

West Brattleboro, April 5, 1899.

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A MONOGRAPH ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY LIFE OF BRATTLEBORO.

I. Indians and Equivalent Lands.

Previous to the year of our Lord 1687, all the region in which this goodly township of Brattleboro is situated, was the camping, tramping and hunting ground of the Indians. Up to that date a tribe of that people, called the Squakheags, having numerous wigwams and headquarters of their chief on the southeast of us, regarded all the country, from Massachusetts line to the Ascutney, as theirs. But at the above date the proprietors of Northfield, whose township was divided by the Connecticut, bought of them all the land between that place and Wantastiquet or West river, on both sides of the Connecticut, and took a deed of it; within the limits of which were included about three-fifths of what afterward became the township of Brattleboro.

Then again, at a later date, the Province of Massachusetts Bay, having found that, by mistake, it had made grants of land belonging to the Colony of Connecticut, soon made compensation by turning over to that Colony an equivalent of land on the west side of the Connecticut; the north line of part of which was near the north line of Putney, and the south line of the same part about the same as the present south line of Brattleboro. These "Equivalent Lands," as they were called, being put on sale in 1716, found sixteen associated purchasers, who, being now owners in common, in June, 1718, agreed on a division and allotment, when the tract above described fell to four men, one of whom was Col. William Brattle of Cambridge, Mass., and another William Dummer, who soon became lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and from whom the entire above-named tract took, for a time, the name of "Dummerston." Here it was, in

that part of this tract, which was eventually chartered as Brattleboro, that the first permanent Anglo-Saxon settlement was made in what afterward became the State of Vermont.

II. Fort Dummer.

For so it was, that, on the 27th of December, 1723, hardly more than five years from the above date, in order to secure the safety of all these regions against Indian depredations, the general court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, "Voted to build a block house above Northfield, in the most convenient place on the lands called the 'Equivalent Lands,' and to post in it forty able men, English and Western Indians, to be employed in scouting at a good distance up Connecticut river, West river, Otter creek and sometimes eastward, above great Monadnuck, for the discovery of the enemy coming toward any of the frontier towns; and that so much of the said 'Equivalent Lands' as shall be necessary for a block house be taken up, with the consent of the owners of said land, together with five or six acres of their interval land, to be broken up or plowed for the present use of the Western Indians, in case any of them shall think fit to bring their families hither." To fulfill the conditions of this vote, "a site was chosen in the southeastern part of the present town of Brattleboro, just south of the now Brattleboro village, upon what is now known as the Brooks farm. Col. John Stoddard of Northampton was ordered by Governor Dummer to superintend the building of the block house, the immediate oversight of the work being committed to Lieut. Timothy Dwight, who with a competent force, consisting of four carpenters, twelve soldiers, with narrow axes and two teams, commenced operations on the 3d of February, 1724. Before summer had begun the Fort was so far completed as to be habitable, and was named Fort Dummer, in honor of Sir William Dummer, then Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts."

The fort was built of large, squared pine timbers, somewhat after the fashion of a log house, an oblong, twenty feet high, with a watch box at one end. A committee of clergymen, being asked to procure a person of gravity, ability, and prudence for chaplain, made choice of Daniel Dwight of Northampton, who was not only to serve the fort as chaplain, but also do mission

work among the Indians round about. In 1730, Rev. Ebenezer Hinsdell became chaplain. At times the danger from Indian attacks was so great that entire families repaired to the fort for safety; indeed, some of the settlers were killed, and some were carried away captives to Canada. When Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, gave Brattleboro her charter in the name of George II., his Majesty's Fort Dummer and fifty rods around it were reserved. The rest of the meadow, cleared and fenced, became private property. Nathaniel French and his son, William, who was eventually killed at Westminster Court House, were living here in the Fort in 1769, but moved to the French place near the Dummerston line the following year. Nor was it long after this before the fort was given up, coming, apparently, into the possession of Captain Willard, its ast commander, as private property.

III. New Hampshire Charter.

The town of Brattleboro was chartered by the Governor of New Hampshire, in 1753, to Col. Wm. Brattle, Cambridge, Mass., and to his associates, and hence the name, *Brattleborough*, in honor of the Colonel, whose name stood first among the grantees. The following is a brief outline and the substance of the charter, partly in the language of the charter, and partly in a much abridged and condensed form:

"Province of New Hampshire—George II., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all persons to whom these Presents shall come,—Greeting:—

"Know ye that we, of our special grace and certain knowledge and mere motion, for the due encouragement of settling a new plantation within our said Province, By and with the advice of our trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor and Commander-in-chief of our said Province of New Hampshire in America, and of our council of said Province, have, upon the conditions and reservations hereafter made, given and granted, and by these Presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant in equal shares, unto our loving subjects, Inhabitants of our said Province of New Hampshire and His Majesty's other governments, and to their heirs and

assigns forever, whose names are entered on this grant," a township, 5½ miles square, containing about 20,000 acres, out of which are to be reserved 800 for Governor Wentworth, and 200 for Oliver Willard in the southeast part of the township. The boundaries of the township and of the two reservations were here given in the charter, and all on certain conditions, such as having two fairs a year, and a market opened once or more a week, when the families should come to number fifty; the first meeting to be called by Josiah Willard, Esq., for the choice of officers, etc.; every grantee to plant or cultivate five acres of land within five years for every fifty contained in his share, on penalty of forfeiting his grant; all white and other pine trees fit for masting the Royal Navy to be carefully preserved for that use, and none to be cut or felled without his Majesty's special license; and before any division of land be made among the grantees, a tract, as near the centre of the township as possible, to be reserved and marked out for town lots of one acre each, one of which shall be allotted to each grantee, he yielding or paying therefor to them, for ten years, one ear of Indian corn, annually; and others to pay each, annually and forever, one shilling Proclamation money for every 100 acres he owns, in their Council Chamber in Portsmouth, or to some other appointed officers. Witness, Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor, etc., the 26th day of December, 1753.

The names of the grantees were William Brattle, Jacob Wendell, and about fifty others. In addition to the reserve of Fort Dummer and fifty rods around it, and 800 acres for Governor Wentworth, was a reserve of one share for the Society for Propagating the Gospel, one share for the first settled minister of the town, and one for a glebe for the minister of the church of England.

IV. Boundaries and New York Charter.

The boundary of Brattleboro, as given in the charter, was essentially the same as now—on the north by Dummerston, on the east by the Connecticut river, on the south by Guilford and a small part of Vernon, and on the west by Marlboro. This gives an area of about 21,760 acres. The boundary of the 800 acres, reserved for the Governor, which was generally called

"the Governor's farm," began at the rocks in the river at the lower end of the railroad yard, thence went up the river 240 rods, or near to Walnut street and the High School house, and was carried, that width westward, till it took in the Carroll farm and most of the Miner place—a tract which now includes a great part of the East village and Esteyville, all of Western avenue and Centerville.

The first building erected on this tract of 800 acres seems to have been a grist mill, built by Governor Wentworth, in 1762, on Whetstone brook, near the bridge at the foot of Main street; nor does there seem to have been any other building on that tract till a saw mill was built at the same place in 1768. After all this region came under the rule of the New York Province, as it did July 20, 1764, Samuel Wells and nineteen others procured from Governor Moore, of that Province, a grant of the township of Brattleboro; whereupon the nineteen others deeded their share and right to Mr. Wells, and he became the sole owner of the New York title, which included all of Governor Wentworth's reservation except that on which he had made improvements, which Judge Wells soon bought, tradition says, for five oxen; and then, in 1771, the Judge sold the whole tract of 800 acres to Stephen Greenleaf.

V. Governor Wentworth's Farm and the Greenleafs.

Mr. Greenleaf had been an enterprising merchant in Boston, but for some reason had become involved in business, and in the early part of 1771, had come to Brattleboro, and lived, for a time, a little south of the now so-called "Fair grounds." To him it was that Judge Wells sold his 800 acres for £1,200, about $5,000. In 1772, Mr. Greenleaf built a sawmill, the second in town, about where the factory now stands in Centerville, and in 1776 built a dwelling house not far from Centerville, on the fifty-acre lot, now the Herrick place at "Elm Corners," a little south of the Miner place. When that house was burned in June, 1898, it was one of the oldest in town, having been built only some three years after that by Judge Wells, now the "Summer Retreat" for women. Both the senior Stephen Greenleaf, who became Esquire in 1772, when the New York Governor made him justice of the peace, and his son, Major Stephen

Greenleaf, who lived at the top of the hill on what is now Greenleaf street, in West Brattleboro, were active and prominent in all good enterprises in their day. The father, Esquire Greenleaf, held a license from the government as Inn-keeper, was town clerk from 1776 to 1783, and so the last clerk of the town under the jurisdiction of New York and the first under that of Vermont; and was both a member and the clerk of the first church.

Out of the 800 acres which he bought of Judge Wells, Mr. Greenleaf, in 1772, sold a little more than twenty-six, in the northeast corner, to Samuel Knight, on which, about 1773, Mr. Knight, who held a commission as an attorney-at-law in "his Majesty's courts of record" in Cumberland county, built a comparatively commodious dwelling house, just north of where the Free Library now stands, apparently the first dwelling of much size built in what is now Brattleboro village. The rest of the 800 acres was soon mortgaged, August and September, 1773, 600 acres of it, in the western part, to Judge Wells; and what remained, in the eastern part, to other parties; all which evidently soon passed out of Esquire Greenleaf's hands into the hands of others. He, however, owned the fifty-acre lot of the now Herrick's farm, near "Elm Corners," and went there, apparently in 1776, to live. At a later date, 1783, he bought twenty acres more, on his southern border, where he afterward had his home till he died in 1803.

Esquire Greenleaf has often been spoken of as being the first merchant in Brattleboro, if not the first in Vermont, and is said to have opened a store in 1771, the same year he came to Brattleboro, at or near where Union block now stands on Main street. Some speak of it as having been at or near the mills at the foot of Main street; "The Tory's Daughter" speaks of it, in 1775, as "resting on the Connecticut river," at the mouth of the Whetstone. In 1776, Mr. Greenleaf went to live on his little farm south of the Miner place; and in 1778 mention is made of certain notes payable in wheat "at Esquire Greenleaf's house, or at the grist mill," by which is probably meant the grist mill owned by Seth Smith, which stood near what is now the south end of the red bridge near the Brattleboro creamery; all which would seem to indicate that he had no store at that time.

With his son, Major Greenleaf, the writer was somewhat well acquainted in the later years of the Major's life, living, as he did, next neighbor to him for a time, some sixty-five years ago. And then, at a later date, out of regard for his memory, and as a proper thing to be done, the writer suggested, and put up a board to that effect, that the road in West Brattleboro, which leaves Main street at the Rockwell place and goes up west, past the house at the top of the hill where Mr. Greenleaf used to live, be called in honor of his memory, "Greenleaf street."*

For 44 years, subsequent to 1799, Mr. Greenleaf was town clerk, and "his penmanship, in the old town books, for its uniformity and perfection, is the admiration of everyone who has ever examined it." He was what might be called a "self-made man." By a diligent use of such means as came within his reach, in his earlier days, "he laid the foundation of such a character for ability and virtue as won the well-deserved respect, love and confidence of three generations, then calmly and peacefully died in 1850, aged 92 years."†

VI. Early Settlements.

Though Brattleboro was chartered in 1753, yet almost no attempts at settlements within its borders were made, except under the protection of here and there a block house, as at Fort Dummer, till the French war was ended in 1760 by the capture of Montreal. Much less had any great highway been laid out and kept in repair, even here in Brattleboro, till after that event. And yet many of the enterprising, public-spirited men of New England had passed up and down the state from Massachusetts and Connecticut to the scenes of hostilities on Lakes George and Champlain, and had thus got some good idea of its fertile soil and abundant water power; so that the promise of a safe occupation being given by the conquest of Canada served

*When the writer took up his abode, some twenty years ago, where he now resides, he thought the road which winds along up the brook, which comes dancing and singing down from the beautiful valley south of the Mather's, King's and town farm, ought to have a becoming name, and so had a board painted, and put up on the corner, near Main street, describing it as "Bonnyvale Road."

†Major Greenleaf, in marrying Mrs. Ryan for his second wife, became the much-loved stepfather of two very young and beautiful step-daughters; one of whom, Love C., became the wife of the late James Fisk, and by him, the mother of Mrs. George W. Hooker; while the other, Mary, became the wife of the late John W. Frost.

to kindle in many a desire to emigrate to the attractive territory which they found in this region. Hence the rapidity with which settlements were made here, for some years subsequent to 1760; though Brattleboro, by reason of its fort, had had a sprinkling of emigrants previous to that date. But as yet, and for several years, all, except a small clearing at and around the fort, was a dense forest of majestic trees.

It would seem that one of the first settlements made in town, aside from what was done at Fort Dummer, was that of Benjamin Moor, in 1757, near where the "Retreat" farmhouse now stands. Mr. Moor was killed by the Indians in 1758, and his wife and children carried captive to Canada, where they were redeemed by Col. Peter Schuyler in 1760. To Mrs. Moor Col. Josiah Willard gave a lot of fifty acres, in 1763, southeast of Meeting House Hill, where the late Gilbert Smith lived. Here she was married to Moses Johnson in 1764, soon after which they sold their farm to Abner Scovil. Col. John Sargent, son of Lieut. John Sargent, began a settlement in Brattleboro in 1762 on the now road to Dummerston, north of West river, where some of his descendants now live. It was during the same year, 1762, that John Arms, who became Major, settled where the Retreat farmhouse now stands. The famous tavern, which he established and kept there till his death from the kick of a horse in 1770, still continued to be kept for many years by his widow, Susanna, and his son, Josiah. Samuel Wells, who became both Colonel and Judge, came to Brattleboro, as did John Arms, from Deerfield, in 1762, and began a settlement in a log house west of where the Summer Retreat for women now stands; some ten years after which, about 1773, he built what is now the main part of that Retreat, which is now thought to be the oldest house in town. Among other first settlers in this town was Ebenezer Fisher, the great-grandfather of Ezra and his brothers. He came here when there were as yet but fourteen others, and settled east of the cemetery, near where Mr. Brown now lives. Henry Wells, Brattleboro's first physician and the first clerk of the town, came here from New York in 1767, and settled on a farm of about a thousand acres, of which the late Gilbert Smith's was a part, southeast of the cemetery on Meeting House Hill. Here he built a

arge house, which stood almost unaltered till taken down by Mr. Smith in 1875.

VII. Roads and Residences.

At first all the roads were hardly more than foot and bridle paths, till these were widened enough, by cutting away the trees on each side, for an ox-sled or cart to make its way; though it was long before all the stumps, roots, and big stones were removed. Previous to 1768 few, if any, well-defined roads were laid out and kept in proper repair; the paths and roads being extended from one settlement to another, here and there, as new emigrants came in and began new homes. The passing of people on foot or horseback up and down the Connecticut, previous to 1762, and before wagons had come into use in this region, made a track about where the road now runs from Hinsdale, now Vernon, via Prospect Hill Cemetery to a bridge near the mouth of the Whetstone. From this point the track was continued northward through the woods, near the line of the present Main and Linden streets, till it came to the great "Retreat meadows." When Governor Wentworth built his grist mill by Whetstone bridge, and Major Arms his Inn where the Retreat farmhouse now stands, as they did in 1762, this track began to put on the semblance of a highway, and to have a rapid extension toward the north, northeast, and northwest. Passing the Arms place, the road led on north and west to the Wells place (Summer Retreat), where it opened into two, one of which turned to the right and went down to West river, which it crossed by a ford and led on past the several Sargents and Frenches toward Dummerston, the only road from Brattleboro in that direction till 1796; while the other branch continued straight on westward, passing the Dunklee homestead, Oliver Carpenter's, Wicopy ("Wickopee") Hill, and eventually the old meeting house on Dummerston Hill, to Williamsville and Newfane Hill, thence to Chester, the shire town of Cumberland County, which embraced both Windham and Windsor when the state was under the rule of New York Province. Still another road struck out from near the Wells place, going, first south of west, then west, passing near Samuel Knight's place, then Pastor Reeve's, and Ebenezer Fisher's, and came, in 1768,

upon Meeting House Hill from the north, past the now Doolittle place; whence, eventually, it went on westward, down across the northern part of the late Harry Miller farm to the S. S. Sargent place on Whetstone brook; thence across the country west to Abel Stockwell's on Ames Hill, now Barna Clark's, thence through Halifax to Albany.

One and the same as the beginning of this road on the Hill was another which came west from the meeting house down through the now Miller, once the Reeve, pasture to the Pettee, once Reeve place.* From this, a road led across the Whetstone brook to the now Rockwell and Hayes corner; William Harris having settled at the Rockwell place in 1768; Israel Smith at the Stockwell place, by the Davenport store, two years later; Rutherford Hayes at the Hayes place in 1778; and William Ellas, where the old Academy stood, in 1772. From this Harris-Hayes centre one road went northwest, passing the home of Capt. Nathaniel Blakeslee, who married Deborah Reeve and lived at the now Miller place; then to the home of Capt. James Blakeslee, who married another of Pastor Reeve's daughters and lived where Samuel Sargent now lives. Another road went up the hill, west, passing Major Greenleaf's, now Thurber's, soon after which it parted and went, one southward to the Warriner's, another westward to Marlboro.

There was no village where West Brattleboro now is till after 1784, though, some twelve or fifteen years previous to that date, a bridle path and then an ox-sled road led from the Harris-Hayes center, southeastward to the Hayes tavern, afterward known as Bixby's, Barrett's, Root's, Stewart's, Goodenough's and a dozen others, the last of whom was J. P. Sargent, who was in charge of

*When the provincial government of New Hampshire chartered this town it made several reservations, one of which was a glebe of land for the first settled minister. This came, of course, to the Rev. Abner Reeve and embraced what came, eventually, to be known as the Shepard Rice place, near Mr. Brown's, and now the property of the Retreat, about a mile east from the meeting house. Here it was that Mr. Reeve lived till after the new meeting house was built in West Brattleboro village. Here he reared the younger portion of his large family, doing pulpit and parish work, and with the help of his sons, especially Silas, the youngest, carrying on the farm to eke out his small salary. Eventually, however, he made an exchange with a Mr. Patterson and obtained what used to be known as the "Reeve farm," which extended from the cemetery on the Hill down westward to Whetstone brook, and embraced the premises since known as the Ranney, the Porter, the Bolander, and now the Pettee place. In the summer vacation of the Academy, in 1837, the writer worked at haying on the Reeve farm for Mrs. Rhoda Blakeslee Reeve, the widow of Silas, who died June 10, 1884, and for her son, John.

t when, a few years ago, it was burned. From this the path went south to Ellas' by the old Academy, then east to a ford or bridge on the Whetstone, near the now iron bridge, then to Lieut. Root's, ate Dea. Wilder's, now Thurber's. Here, about to turn to the left and go up the hill north, it met and took on another which came from Guilford via Benjamin Baker's, now Stafford's, on "Fair View Hill," then passed Greenleaf's, now Herrick's, then passed John Dickerman's, now Miner's, then crossed the Whetstone by Smith's grist mill, near the now red bridge, then turned to the left and went west to Lieut. Root's, where it joined the other, as above named, and with it went up the hill north past Lemuel Kendrick's and thus reached the common, meeting house, and cemetery on the Hill, about 1774. It is thought that this road from Guilford and the brook to the Hill was that which Col. Ethan Allen took when he went with his soldiers and prisoners from Guilford to Brattleboro, September 10, 1782, and that his troops and the prisoners stopped for the night on the Hill, perhaps in the church, while he and his officers went on and stopped at the famous Major Arms Inn. From Lieut. Root's to what is now the east village there was no direct road till 1785, the same year in which the meeting house on the Hill began to give place to the building of a new one in West Brattleboro.

After 1774, anyone going from the Harris-Hayes region to the east village region might go northeast to the Hill via the road up through the now Miller pasture; or, doubtless better, via Lieut. Root's to the Hill, and thence by a road going southeast past Abner Scovil's (the late Gilbert Smith's), to the great river road, which went up where Main and Linden streets now run, past the Retreat and crossed West river at the upper end of the Retreat meadows.

It is interesting to notice how, at the time of which we speak, and for ten or fifteen years later, nearly all the roads in town, whether long or short, led to and from the Meeting House Hill, that place being, at that time, not only well nigh geographically, but, for business, and in all other respects, the great center of the town.* Aside from the roads already named, there were

*A chart of the original roads, as they came centering in from the four quarters, north, south, east and west, upon the Hill, with the several dates of their coming in and going out, also, of the site of the meeting house and of several graves, may be found in the writer's "Second Discourse" on the first church in Brattleboro, page 26.

two others leading from the Hill northward to the now Osca Ware and West Dummerston region.

VIII. Meeting House Hill and Census of Population.

When the proprietors of the New Hampshire charter of Brattleboro had the town surveyed and divided into lots, they made a plan of it, and on this plan five acres were reserved on the Hill for a cemetery and other purposes; and then, when this charter was annulled by the town's coming under the jurisdiction of New York, Judge Wells obtained a grant of it from that Province; after which, July 30, 1774, he conveyed essentially the same five acres to the trustees of the town for essentially the same purposes. The following is a description of the land and the uses to be made of it, as given in the deed: "Commonly called and known by the name of Meeting House Hill, a part of which is used for a burying ground, bounded northerly by land belonging to David Church, westerly by a road or highway, until the same enters into another road, which last mentioned road runs through the hereby granted tract of land, and partly by lands now belonging to said Samuel Wells, southerly by lands now belonging to Abner Scovil, and easterly partly by part of the aforesaid road, which, turning its course, runs through the said hereby granted tract, and partly by lands belonging to Henry Wells; containing about six acres of land, be the same more or less: In trust, that in some convenient part or parts thereof on the north side of said road which passes through the said hereby granted tract, a building or buildings for the public worship of Almighty God be erected, and a convenient part or parts around said building or buildings be applied for the purpose of a burying place or burying places, the profits of the said burying place or burying places, and all that part of the hereby granted premises, which lies on the north side of the aforesaid road, is hereby declared to be given and granted to the use of such minister or ministers respectively for the time being, as shall officiate there, and the other part of the said hereby granted premises, lying on the south side of the aforesaid road, which runs through the said hereby granted tract, to be applied for the use of building thereon any other public buildings, which shall at any time hereafter be found nec-

sary for the service of said township of Brattleboro, and for aining and exercising the inhabitants in the use of arms or in her useful or entertaining exercise, and for any and every her public use or service of the said township, and for no other ads, intentions, meanings or purposes whatsoever."

It was here that, nine years previous, a portion of this land had begun to be used for one of the purposes specified in the leed, when Elizabeth, a beloved daughter of the Judge and Mrs. Hannah Wells, was buried there in 1765. When that ittle grave was made—probably the first in all that region—it was in the lone woods, amid primeval trees, the entire hill being then covered with one dense, unbroken forest. Here, too, in 1768, was built the first meeting house, the site of which, after much search and study, has been but recently fixed upon and suitably marked by a granite block,* eight rods nearly south from Elizabeth's little grave. The house was built by private enterprise, which at that time was a matter of no small account, the entire population of the town being as yet small—all the "grown men" numbering but seventy-five, and almost every one of these at his wits' end to know how and where to get the means to build his own house, extend his clearing, feed his pig, keep his cow and horse, and support his family. In those early days "the laws of Vermont required every town to have 'a good pair of stocks, with a lock and key, sufficient to hold and secure such offenders as shall be sentenced to sit therein,' to be set in the most public place; and in the same place, a sign-post, on which all notifications, warrants, &c., for meetings, &c., shall be set up. At a meeting, held September 14, 1781, the town, in compliance with this law of Vermont—

"Voted to build a pair of stocks and a sign post.

"Voted to sett the sign post near the meeting house.

"Voted to fitt the stocks into the sign post."

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*This monument, the base of which consists of native granite and the die of millstone granite from Connecticut, is about four feet high by two and a half wide, "rock finish," bearing this inscription: "The First Meeting House in Brattleboro was built here, A. D. 1768." On the right hand corner, near the base, are the initials, "E. E. F., 1898," the letters being understood to stand for Ezra E. Fisher, to whom all are greatly indebted for this work and for other expensive and important additions and improvements in these now memorable and sacred grounds.

The house was used for town meetings as well as for publ worship, being, as it was, the only public building in town fc some years. The land around it, save the cemetery on tl north of it, was used as a public common and a field for trai ing till 1785, when a move was made to build a meeting hou in what is now the West Brattleboro village. Having built meeting house on the Hill, as they did in 1768, the people ver soon began a search and effort to obtain a suitable minister fc the pulpit and for other parish work; and to this end, in 1770 they formed themselves into a society called "the Covenanters." no less than seventy out of the seventy-five men of the town at that time giving in their names as severally agreeing, covenanting and promising to abide and stand by certain measures and articles for settling and maintaining a true gospel minister in town. But, as a very full account of the first fifty years of the first church in Brattleboro and of its first three pastors, the Rev. Abner Reeve, the Rev. William Wells and the Rev. Caleb Burge, was given in the writer's two historical discourses pertaining to that subject, and published, the first, of thirty-two pages, 8vo., in 1876, the second, of thirty-one pages, in 1894. this phase of the early life of the town is omitted from the present historical sketch.

At the time of which we speak, when the meeting house was built and a church formed, a census of the town put the number of "grown men" at seventy-five, and the entire population at 403. The following are the names of the men and the localities in which they lived at that time:—

"Josiah White, John White, Abijah White, Tilly Wilder, Tilly Wilder, Jr., Wildar Willard, Benjamin Nourse, Samuel Brown, and Willard King, who lived south of where the village is; William King, who lived up the hill above the cider mill at Mr. Thayer's, was furthest west; John Sargeant, Thomas Sargeant, Benjamin Butterfield, Benjamin Butterfield, Jr., Jesse Frost, Jacob Spaldin, Joshua Wilder, Lemuel Kendrick, Benjamin Gold, Nathan Gold, and Levi Baldwin above West river; Samuel Wells, Elias Wilder, Elias Wilder, Jr., Isaac Earheart, Joel Atcherson, John Arms, Josiah Arms, Joseph Herrick, Jonathan Herrick, William Nichols, Oliver Harris, Oliver Harris, Jr., Ephraim Knapp, Jonathan Church, William Ellis, Thomas

hilis, Samuel Knight, John Baldwin, Jonathan Hobs, and Faniel Baldwin northwest of where the Retreat is; Timothy haurch, Nathaniel Church, David Church, William Cranny, yrael Field, Richard Prouty, Samuel Kent, William Goss, benezer Knapp, John Pike, and Jacob Pike in the neighborhood bout Oscar Ware's; Dr. Henry Wells, Joshua Partridge, benezer Fisher, Alexander Youngs, John Campton, Jacob ball, Shadrach Ball, William McCune, Isaac McCune, and Elijah Prouty in the neighborhood east and north of the common where the meeting house was built; and a Mr. Burnap, Reuben Bump, Nathaniel Church, Eber Church, Jabez Davis, Edward King, Samuel Bennet, Thomas Cooke, Oliver Cooke, John Alexander, James Knapp, Jonas Knapp, and Sawyer Wright northwest of there toward Wicopee Hill."*

IX. Land Controversy and Dispute about Jurisdiction.

But during the years of which we have been speaking, especially during the first decade of these years, by reason of the indefinite, ambiguous, and even conflicting boundaries of territories claimed variously by New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, the seeds of much bitter controversy had been sown by an indiscriminate granting of lands to various parties in all this region—some by the Dutch at Albany, some by the French, and some by the several Colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York. As early as 1763 Benning Wentworth, acting under a royal commission as Governor of New Hampshire, and told by the king that the Province of New Hampshire extended westward till it met his other governments (that is, to a line extending from Lake Champlain south to the western line of Massachusetts), in the king's name had granted 138 townships west of the Connecticut river, which were now generally known as the "New Hampshire Grants." This being more than New York could brook, Lieutenant-Governor Tryon, of that Province, referred the settlement of the boundary question to George III., who, in Council of July 20, 1764, decided that the western bank of the Connecticut river should thereafter be regarded as the boundary

*In looking at these names it will be seen that in no case is there a double or more than one given name; and that, out of the whole number of seventy-five, all but eighteen of the given names were, originally, taken from the Bible.

line between the Province of New Hampshire and that of New York. At this decision the colonists were much surprised and displeased; but, supposing it meant nothing more than a change of jurisdiction, yielded at first a peaceful submission. But soon finding themselves much mistaken, in that the Governor of New York was ignoring their rights and claims, making grants of their lands to others, or demanding enormous patent fees for confirming the grants they held, they stoutly demurred. Indeed, many of the towns soon entered upon a state of open rebellion. Attempts to eject farmers from lands they had paid for and from improvements they had made led to many a scene of personal violence. Some were kidnapped and carried to jail for attempting to protect and defend the farms they had paid for and the homes they had made.

For a time, however, not a few, especially of the later settlers, who had their grants from New York, or had paid the fees required for a confirmation of grants already acquired, took sides with that state. When the boundary line was fixed at the Connecticut river, in 1764, what is now Vermont became a part of Albany County. Then, in 1768, what are now Windham and Windsor Counties, were made into one and called Cumberland; and at a meeting of the Brattleboro freeholders, which was called for the first Tuesday of March, in accord with the time specified in the patent of the town, Brattleboro was organized; John Arms, Esq., being chosen moderator, Dr. Henry Wells, clerk, and other citizens appointed to other offices, such as were required by the Province of New York. As yet the proclivities of Brattleboro were toward New York. When Lieut. Leonard Spaulding, who had been confined in Westminster jail, on the charge of having uttered treasonable words against the king, was released, in November, 1774, by a committee assisted by a concourse of freeborn neighbors and friends from Dummerston, Putney and other towns, "without key or lock-picker," Brattleboro was not in it. But when those who regarded the demands of the new government as unjust and oppressive were to present their grievances to the court at Westminster, in March, 1775, the high sheriff of the county, coming to Brattleboro for men to "assist him in keeping the peace and suppressing the rioters," easily found no less than thirty-five men ready to go back with

m to the court house. Nor was it long before one William rench, a freeborn citizen of Brattleboro, who, with the others, ad come there to tell their grievances, was shot dead. And et again we see what were the proclivities of Brattleboro on his question in those days, in that she had no delegate in either of the two meetings of the general convention of the delegates of the state, one, of fifty-one delegates, on July 24, 1776, at Dorset, and another, an adjourned meeting, on January 15, 1777, at Westminster, where it was "voted, unanimously, that the district of land, commonly called 'New Hampshire Grants,' be a new and separate state, and for the future conduct themselves as such." Nor yet again, when this meeting adjourned to meet in Windsor, the first Wednesday in June, and when met, recommended to the people of the new state to assemble in their respective towns and choose representatives to meet at Windsor on July 2, to form a constitution and elect delegates to congress, did Brattleboro take any part, but rather on June 16, in full town meeting, voted not to accept or approve the proceedings of the late convention, July 2, at Windsor. And in August, when an attempt was made to take the sense of the voters as to the new state, the report from Brattleboro was, that out of a vote of 166, all but one expressed a dissent from the pretended state of Vermont.

So great was the opposition of Brattleboro and two or three other towns, that Brigadier General Ethan Allen came from the west side of the mountain with a goodly number of Green Mountain Boys, all armed and equipped to aid the civil officers of this region in their efforts to enforce the authority of the state of Vermont. Prosecuting this work, they arrested, among others, all but one of the military officers of Brattleboro, together with some in Putney and some in Westminster, took them as prisoners to the court, then in session at Westminster, where they were tried, found guilty, and fined each from two to forty pounds sterling and costs, for their opposition to the state of Vermont.

The general sentiment of the town now began to turn from New York and to set in favor of Vermont, though it was not till 1781 that she sent delegates or representatives to the Vermont Assembly. The last town meeting under New York auspices, held the first Tuesday in March, 1781, simply chose a moderator

and a clerk, and then adjourned for a year; whereupon the loy local citizens of the new state called another meeting of th town, to be held March 27, 1781, at which time the town vote to accept the union that had been agreed upon and adopte between the legislature of Vermont and the Committee of Con vention, and chose Samuel Warriner moderator, Esquire Stepher Greenleaf clerk, and all the other officers which the constitution of the state required. And so it was that Brattleboro became organized as a town under the jurisdiction of Vermont, and has so remained to this day.

But, though jurisdiction had now passed from New York to Vermont, some of the people still adhered so stoutly to the former state as to make it necessary to give the Governor power to raise men to assist the sheriffs in their efforts, at times, to enforce the authority of the state. By his direction it was that General Ethan Allen came from the other side of the mountain with 250 men to Marlboro, September 9, 1782, where he was reinforced by nearly as many more from several of the neighboring towns. The next morning detachments of men were sent to Brattleboro, Halifax, and Guilford to arrest such Yorkites as were leading the rebellion, and take them to headquarters. Allen himself, with the larger part of his force, went to Guilford, the stronghold of the offenders, where, towards the close of the day, the detachments came in with their prisoners. In the evening Allen, with his troops and prisoners, started for Brattleboro, hoping to arrive there that night, but had gone not far ere he was fired upon by a company of forty-six Guilfordites, who had stationed themselves in a hiding place by the side of the road, over which the Vermonters would have to pass. Upon this, Allen forthwith returned to Guilford and made proclamation to the people that he would give no quarter to any man, woman or child who should oppose him; and unless the inhabitants of Guilford should peacefully submit to the authority of Vermont, he would lay their town as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah; after which he was suffered to go on his way to Brattleboro without further molestation. Starting the next day, with some twenty or more prisoners, from Brattleboro for Westminster, he gave orders to kill without quarter anyone who should fire on his men. Arriving at the court in Westmin-

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ster, several of the prisoners, being tried by jury for treason, were condemned and sentenced to be imprisoned until the fourth of the next October in the county jail and then banished from the state, not to return on penalty of death; and that all their goods, chattels and estates be seized and sold as forfeited to the use of the state.

After a little more of this kind of opposition, and a little more of this kind of punishment, by the first of March, 1784, about the last of the people were cured of their affinity for New York. The opposition and disturbances in Brattleboro had already come to an end. Nor was it long before peaceful submission prevailed in other places, and the authority of Vermont was generally acknowledged.

X. Industrial, Domestic and Social Life.

With this brief sketch of the early civil and political life of Col. Brattle's Borough, a few words concerning its industrial, domestic and social life must bring our Monograph to a close. Probably very few of this generation have much idea of the marvelous changes through which this town has passed since it came to be the habitation of civilized men, or much idea even of the changes that have come over it since the first half century of its life. Since those early occupants began to "lift up their axes upon the thick trees" that covered every acre when they began to come here, most of these acres have been "cleared" and become open fields, though some of them are now beginning to show signs of returning to their primitive condition. Instead of the general silence and slumber that reigned here when the white man came, save where it was broken by the whoop of an Indian, the hoot of an owl, or the song or the cry of other animal, we now have the music and the marchings, the grand achievements and great enterprises, of a high order of civilization and Christianity. Often the emigrant who was the pioneer of this change had to come here picking his way through the woods, with nothing save his ax, gun, ammunition, blanket and a basket or bag of food. Reaching the section he was to occupy, his first move was to make for himself a temporary shelter by setting up a few posts and poles for a frame, and using the boughs and bark of trees for a covering.

The next step was to cut away the trees and clear a place large enough for a log house of two rooms, with a big stone chimney in the center.* This done, he would go back for his wife and child, who would return with him on horseback—possibly on a pillion—or in an ox-sled. And now his great work for a year —indeed, for several years—is to extend his clearing by felling the trees, cutting and piling them up, burning them, and gathering up the ashes for the potash factory†—if perchance there may be one in reach—meantime devoting his cleared fields to the growing of grain, vegetables and grass; and all the while working towards the building of a barn and the stocking of his farm.

At first the house furnishings and farming tools of the emigrant farmer and his wife are alike plain, simple and scant; but their mutual helpfulness, courage, energy and inventive genius, together with those magical sweeteners of toils and trials in every life, a strong faith and a high hope, all combine to make their new home a very happy one, and give them an inspiring expectation of ease and abundance in the not very distant future. Nor does the farmer's intelligent and cheerful housewife fail to be wonderfully successful in finding out and suggesting ways and means of increasing the capital, the comforts and the pleasures of their unique home.

The Rev. Dr. Dwight, president of Yale college, who made repeated tours of observation in different parts of Vermont and in adjoining states during the latter part of the last century and the earlier part of the present, came several times to this town; after which he published a series of valuable letters, among which are three especially devoted to the "character of the new settlers" in this and the other towns through which he passed. As a fitting continuance of thoughts and facts such as the fore-

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*The fireplaces in some of those chimneys were huge affairs—sufficient to take in a big back log four feet long, on which would be laid a smaller log, with a third on the andirons in front, over which would be laid two or three other sticks, with a plenty of kindlings between and underneath to start with in the morning. Fortunately, there was an abundance of wood near at hand in those days.

†In the summer of 1791 Dr. Green, of Windsor, Vt., sent 400 tons of potash to New York. Potash refined into pearlash was worth about $300 per ton, to make which would take about 700 bushels of ashes; and the quantity of ashes that might be gathered from an acre would vary from fifty to 100 bushels.

going, a few extracts are here made from the letters above named: "Among the enjoyments of these people, health and hardihood ought never to be forgotten. The toils, which they undergo; the difficulties, which they surmount; and the hazards, which they escape; all increase their spirits and their firmness. A New England forest, formed of hills and valleys, down which the waters, always pure and sweet, flow with unceasing rapidity; or of plains, dry and destitute of marshes, is healthy almost of course. The minds of these settlers, therefore, possess the energy which results from health, as well as that which results from activity; and few persons taste the pleasures which fall to their lot with keener relish. The common troubles of life, often deeply felt by persons in easy circumstances, scarcely awaken in them the slightest emotion. Cold and heat, snow and rain, labor and fatigue, are regarded by them as trifles, deserving no attention. The coarsest food is pleasant to them; and the hardest bed refreshing. Over roads, encumbered with rocks, mire, and the stumps and roots of trees, they ride upon a full trot, and are apprehensive of no danger. Even their horses gain, by habit, the same resolution; and pass rapidly and safely over the worst roads, where both horses and men, accustomed to smoother ways, merely tremble and creep. Even the women of these settlements, and those of every age, share largely in this spirit. The longest journeys, in very difficult roads, they undertake with cheerfulness, and perform without anxiety. I have often met them on horseback, and been surprised to see them pass fearlessly over those dangers of the way, which my companions and myself watched with caution and solicitude. Frequently I have seen them performing these journeys alone.

"Another prime enjoyment of these settlers is found in the kindness, which reigns among them universally. A general spirit of good neighborhood is prevalent thoughout New England; but here it prevails in a special degree. Among these people, a man rarely tells the story of his distresses to deaf ears, or asks any reasonable assistance in vain. The relief given is a matter, not of kindness merely, but of course. To do kind offices is the custom, a part of the established manners. This is seen everywhere; and is regularly experienced by the traveler; whom they

receive as a friend, rather than as a stranger; as an object of good will, and not as a source of gain."

Speaking of this town at a later date, 1803, he says: "Brattleboro, the next township, was settled not long after Vernon, and, like it, borders on the river. It has a softer and handsomer aspect than Guilford; yet it is uneven, and some of the hills are high and steep. A little collection of houses, often styled the village and sometimes the city, built on the southern limit of a plain immediately below the mouth of West river, is one of the prettiest objects of the kind and size within my recollection. If we did not mistake in counting them, they were now but ten in number; but with their appendages were remarkably neat. The town has a warm, rather than a rich soil. The inhabitants are all included within a single congregation, and amounted in 1790 to 1,589; in 1800 to 1,867."

And yet, at that time, the early settlers of Colonel Brattle's Borough were far from having come in sight of many things which the men and women of this day regard as essential, indispensable. Dr. Dwight's letter, from which the writer made his first extract, was written in 1798, just one hundred years ago, some thirty or forty years after Brattleboro had begun to be largely settled; and yet he and his companions all traveled on horseback, nor does he ever make mention of a carriage of any kind. Indeed, the writer of these lines can well remember when carts and wagons began to come into use in the region where he spent his early years. The men and women of those early generations were generally clad in fabrics of their own manufacture. All the woolen garments the writer ever wore before he went to college, sixty-one years ago, were made of wool grown on his father's farm, spun and wove, cut and made in his father's house. Neither the spinning wheels, one for flax, one for wool, nor the looms of a hundred years ago had, as yet, given place to the piano or the organ; nor had it, as yet, ceased to be one of the difficult, yet most valuable and worthy of the accomplishments of the young ladies, the daughters of those homes, to know how to draw a smooth and even thread from the distaff of hatcheled flax, or from the roll of tow or wool, work the treadles, shoot the shuttle, or swing the lathe of

the loom.* Nor, yet again, could any instrumental music ever afford mothers the pleasure which the playing and the prattling of their many dear little ones gave them.

The people of the days and years of which we speak never saw a sewing or a knitting machine, a steam engine or an electric car, a bicycle or a baby carriage, mowing machine or horse rake, a lucifer match, gas or kerosene light, an India-rubber garment or a photograph; never used a steel or a gold pen, nor an envelope or a stamp for their letters; nor did every family have a plate for each at the table, much less a silver fork for anybody; never played croquet, lawn tennis or court tennis; never went to a meeting house warmed by artificial means, and never had communication with their friends at home or abroad by means of a telephone or a telegraph. Their newspapers were next to none; their books were few. When you have named the Bible, the Westminster Catechism, Perry's Dictionary (1805), Webster's Spelling Book (1783), Murray's Grammar (1795), Pike's Arithmetic, an almanac, and the Bay Psalm Book, the first book ever published in New England, you have exhausted the more common list. And yet that list, meagre as it was, was not to be despised. To say nothing of the Bible and the Catechism, that Noah Webster Spelling Book, though small and apparently simple, was a work of wonderful interest, wisdom and worth. As the author of "Building the Nation," C. C. Coffin, has said:—

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*"On the week days girls were spinning;
There were wheels for wool and linen,
And they talked of 'chain and filling'
And so many 'runs' a day;
Till the yarn was ripe for weaving,
Which, the busy loom receiving,
Children watched the flying shuttle
Darting on its mazy way.

"But with all this buzz and hurry,
And with all this work and worry,
Matrons found more time to visit,
Long before the setting sun,
Than in these, our days, so pressing,
When more time is spent in dressing,
And the day is just beginning
When the olden day was done."

"It began with words of one syllable.* Its reading lessons were easy. They were about the great moral truths which are the foundation of character, inculcating thrift, industry, morality, virtue, and happiness. It contained fables of his own making—delightful reading, illustrated with pictures. The first fable was about a boy who stole apples:

"'An old man found a rude boy upon one of his trees stealing apples, and desired him to come down; but the young sauce-box told him plainly he would not. "Won't you?" said the old man, "then I will fetch you down." So he pulled up some tufts of grass and threw at him; but this only made the young-ster laugh, to think the old man should pretend to beat him down from the tree with grass only. "Well, well," said the old man, "if neither words nor grass will do, I must try what virtue there is in stones." So the old man pelted him heartily with stones, which soon made the young chap hasten down from the tree and beg the old man's pardon.

"'MORAL.—*If good words and gentle means will not reclaim the wicked, they must be dealt with in a more severe manner.*'

"In a short time it was the only spelling-book in use. Millions of them were sold. The historian who would write a true history of the United States must not leave out Noah Webster's spelling-book. It has been a great uplifting power. Many of the boys and girls fourscore years ago had time to master little more than the fables and the reading lessons of that book; but they never forgot the stories of the boy who stole apples, of the milkmaid who counted her chickens before they were hatched, and of the cat in the meal. The moral lessons which they learned laid the foundation of character—made them noble men and women, pioneers of a new civilization and founders of states."

The early settlers of this town, like most of the other men and women of New England in their day, were a people of enterprise, enthusiasm, energy. They were the children and children's children of those who had left home, kindred, comforts; crossed the sea, faced danger, endured hardship, for principles and privileges which, in the last analysis, they deemed

* "No man may put off the law of God" was the first line of the first reading lesson in words of one syllable, as the writer (L. G.), who was taught to study it out eighty years ago, well remembers.

dearer than life. And as the children of such parents, the heirs of such an ancestry, they naturally felt the same spirit a-burning in their own bones. So it was that with them life was real, earnest—meaning much for both the present and the future. They believed in three things—freedom, education, religion—and regarded the first and second as the handmaids of the third. To care for all these things, and all which these involved, support their families, maintain their liberties, and plant the needed institutions of church and state, made them thoughtful, industrious, energetic; and yet, in adjusting themselves to their convictions and circumstances, they were withal a social, cheerful, happy people—their critics to the contrary notwithstanding.

Though their advantages were limited and their habits simple, yet their enjoyments were many, their pleasures pure and sweet. When the Sabbath came they put on their best clothes and went to meeting, some on horseback—husband, wife, and sometimes a child riding one and the same animal, for as to carriages they had none. Reaching the meeting house, they dismounted upon the horseblock in front of it. Many, especially of the younger and more vigorous classes, went on foot, some of them sometimes carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands, only stopping to put them on as they neared the end of their way. When the minister entered the house the congregation would rise, and stand while their much-loved pastor walked slowly up the aisle, graciously bowing his compliments this way and that till he reached the stairs which led up to the pulpit. At the morning service on communion Sabbaths the deacons occupied seats of honor, either by the side or beneath the pulpit, in face of the congregation. In those days they always had two services and a long sermon at each.

During the hour's nooning, in summer, the people ate their luncheon of doughnuts and cheese, cucumbers or apples and gingerbread, standing or sitting and talking together in the house, or under the trees outside. In winter, they went into the neighbors' houses and warmed themselves, and sometimes had a prayer meeting. And when it came time to return to the meeting house, the women were always expected to replenish their foot-stoves with fresh coals from their kind neighbors'

good wood fire, which contributed much to their comfort during the afternoon service. If the fire at their own homes chanced to go out while they were absent, they quickly rekindled it with a flint, a piece of steel and tinder, or by a flash of powder from the old gun.

And so it was, that, with their religious meetings, secular pursuits, family cares and social enjoyments, their lives were lives of commingled romance and reality, of toil, trial and triumph, profit and pleasure, usefulness and honor. Few as were their books; destitute of machinery as was the civilization of their day; clumsy, plain, simple, scant, as were their farming tools, their furniture, their wardrobe; humble as were their dwellings, and small their means; "they were rich in good habits, health, industry and noble purposes. The first settlers were clear-headed, Bible-instructed, Sabbath-keeping, God-fearing, and if not pious, they were religious. Hence, it was natural that those who had been church members in the older states, and others of like spirit, should want a church of their own in their new frontier home. This they sought and secured." As has been already said, having built a meeting house as early as 1768, they formed a church in 1770, and then covenanted together, no less than seventy out of seventy-five of the men, to secure and support a true gospel minister.

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